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Bodies From The Dark Continent

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Abstract

This dissertation explores how stigmas affect the experiences of Gay Black men living in Scotland, and the methods of activism that have been employed to combat discrimination. To investigate the effects of stigma on Gay Black men in Scotland an intersectional, discourse and content analysis of Scottish LGBT media was performed. Using poetry, essays and interviews from their standpoint, I used a Black Feminist approach as a form of activism to understand the effects of stigmas on gay Black men in Scotland. The findings revealed that LGBT Scottish media adopted discursive practices of the state to stigmatize Black gay men of African and Caribbean descent, which led to internalized homophobia due to multiple intersecting oppressions. These stigmas were rooted in colonialist rhetoric, which reproduced social inequality for gay Black men. Despite facing covert forms of discrimination, gay Black men used their agency to combat racism and homophobia through activism within the U.K. I conclude that recognizing and challenging harmful historical representations and creating more inclusive legislation can lead to better life chances for gay Black men.

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Author's Declaration

I am aware of and understand the University's policy on plagiarism and I certify that this assignment is my own work, except where indicated by referencing, and that I have followed the good academic practices noted above

Signed: JUSTIN JONES

Definitions/Abbreviations

GBM = Gay Black Men

GWM = Gay White Men

I. Introduction

Attitudes towards homosexuality in the U.K. have shifted to a more tolerant and accepting response over recent decades. During the eighties the fear of AIDS caused panic and stigma towards the LGBT community, with 48 percent of the general public agreeing that homosexuality was wrong (Clements and Field, 2014: 6). Post AIDS, the stigma subsided with many showing support for LGBT people. By 1990s, attitudes against homosexuality dramatically decreased from over 50 percent to just 22 percent by 2012 (Clements, 2014: 7). There have been major advancements in the fight for LGBT rights within the U.K. In 2013 the Same Sex Marriage Act provided full marriage rights to LGBT citizens of the U.K. (Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013 (c. 30). Scotland has also been hailed as the best country in Europe for LGBT legal equality in 2015 (IGLA, 2015). However, given that Scotland is regarded highly or a model country in terms of legal protection it offers for LGBT community, what are the experiences of LGTB people of color? Despite progressive legislation for LGBT in the U.K., Black and minority ethnic (BME) LGBT face barriers that are not often addressed by legislation. There is a limited amount of research detailing the experiences of gay Black men (GBM) in the U.K., especially in Scotland (Rivers and Ward; 2012; Cowen, et al., 2011). Most research on LGBT in the U.K. focuses on the importance of coming out for gay White men (Weeks, 1977; Meek 2015). Studies that attempt to address GBM in Britain tend to rely on U.S. data and focus on GBM with HIV in London (Elford, et al., 2008; Doyal et al., 2008; McKeown; et al, 2010). Few studies attempt to address the multiple intersecting forms of oppression that affect GBM in Scotland (Cowen, et. al, 2009 and 2011). This study seeks to address the experiences of GBM in Scotland to find out if these legal protections translate into a better quality of life for them (IGLA, 2015). Since most studies focus on how BGM are a high-risk group that hide their HIV status, it becomes difficult to understand the effects that

stigmas have on GBM and where they originate. Power is a creative force, and this dissertation seeks to reveal how it can shape the experiences of GBM in Scotland (Foucault, 1980).

In chapter II I will open with the literature review detailing the theoretical approach that I will take towards understanding the experiences of GBM, which is Black Feminist Theory. Next, I will explain the gap in the literature regarding the theory and how it can be used to improve current qualitative and quantitative approaches to understanding the experiences of GBM in Scotland. GBM face multiple forms of intersecting oppression, which is why I will justify the need for a Black feminist approach to identify these intersections. Next, I will argue that in order to understand the experiences of GBM men in Scotland it is vital to examine the historical context and history that shapes ideas about Africa. I will then provide a brief overview of the methodology used, which will be discourse analysis and intersectionality. I will argue that by analyzing the discourse around African male bodies and sexuality in Scotland we can gain insight into the lives of GBM living there. This will fill the gap in research for GBM living in Scotland and be a source of activism and empowerment for young GBM who are at risk of prejudice in Scotland. Chapter III will cover the methodology used in the study and provide further details on how discourse analysis, and intersectionality were used to understand the experiences of GBM men in Scotland. I will argue why analyzing the discourse and content of secondary documents and data about GBM in Scotland is the best way to understand the treatment of GBM of African or Caribbean descent in Scotland. I will describe how revealing the discourse around their identity in Scotland can facilitate ways to challenge stigmas and inspire GBM to use their agency and voice as a platform for change. By using a Black feminist approach to the research study I will highlight the issues GBM face from their standpoint by analyzing primary sources that reveal the knowledge and tools they employ to voice their struggles and challenge racism and homophobia in the U.K. The analysis will reveal how the stigmas shape their experiences, while exploring how power affects them in Scotland

and Africa. Chapter IV will contain the findings and answer the research questions: How does the LGBT Scottish media contribute to the reproduction of internalized homophobia for black gay males? What are the coping mechanisms that Black gay men employ to combat racism and homophobia in the U.K.?

This chapter explains how GBM are often portrayed in LGBT Scottish media and how it possibly contributes to inequality. It also explores how the state in the U.K. and Africa systematically create structural and symbolic barriers that make it difficult for GBM to live openly and safely as gay. The findings suggest that the state and LGBT media in Scotland reproduce inequality that directly affects the lives of GBM in Scotland. The chapter will also discuss forms of resistance that were used by GBM in the fight against discrimination. Chapter V will contain the conclusion and a discussion about what the findings mean for future studies on GBM in Scotland. I will promote a new theoretical approach for understanding the experiences of GBM living in Scotland.

Before progressing to the literature review I would like to address the terms that will be used during the course of the study. Although the African diaspora is very diverse, I will be referring to the men in the study as gay Black men or GBM. Race has no ontological significance, but for the purpose of this study gay men of African and Caribbean descent will be referred to as Black. Caucasian men of Scottish descent will be referred to as gay white men, or GWM.

II. Theoretical Approach to understanding Gay Black Men

This chapter presents the literature review on Black Feminist theory. I will first discuss Black feminist theory, and how it has developed overtime to address the social issues of Black women. I will argue that Black feminist theory fails to adequately address the experiences of GBM and further discuss how it can be used to examine the lives of GBM in Scotland. Next, I will argue for a Black Feminist approach that is grounded in the standpoint of GBM and is capable of revealing the complex ways that stigma and discrimination operate to impact the lives of GBM in Scotland. I will also argue that a theoretical approach that recognizes power as a creative force that can be used for activism is an opportunity for GBM in Scotland to identify and challenge the dominant discourses around their bodies, which can improve the way they value their own.

Black Feminist theory is a critical social theory that is grounded in the standpoint and interests of Black women from the U.S., and reflects themes that are unique to the experiences of African American women (Collins, 2009: 269). Black feminist epistemology utilizes an interpretive framework that employs resistance and activism to collectively combat the way domination organizes and operates in various domains of power (Alinia, 2015: 2334). It utilizes dialogue and experiential understanding to put Black women at the centre of the discussion, while drawing on Mill's sociological imagination by linking their personal biography with wider historical processes (Alinia, 2015: 2334, Mills, 2000). Black feminist theory employs an intersectional framework to identify different injustices that plague Black women and their communities. Black women experience multiple forms of discrimination in the U.S. due to their race and gender. They are status deprived, or disadvantaged doubly in social, economic, and political sphere (Simien, 2004: 84). Black feminist theory claims that a matrix of domination reveals the way power and knowledge cause different forms of oppression to intersect in the lives of Black women

through structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power (Bhambra, 2015: 2317). Black feminist thought analyses different forms of oppression through these domains. *Structural* oppression is embedded socially and institutionally, *disciplinary* power maintains oppressive circumstances despite challenges and resistance to structural power, *hegemonic* oppression takes place when one adopts dominant perspectives, and *interpersonal* domains highlight the changing relational dynamics between the oppressor and the oppressed (Perez and Williams 2014: 126). These domains of power exist to reproduce social inequality for Black Women. By locating different domains of power, Black feminist thought exposes the interlocking forms of oppression and empowers Black women to organize collectively to fight and against racist and sexist policies and discourses that stigmatize Black U.S. women.

The domains of power often operate covertly, and Black feminist theory explicitly investigates the way these power domains function. Structural domains of power regulate citizenship rights through various institutions such as schools, the legal system, labour market and the media, while disciplinary domains create rules and regulations to produce quiet and docile populations (Alinia, 2015: 2336). The U.S. legal system has historically barred African-American women from equal access to jobs, healthcare, and schools due to segregation laws that claimed Black and Whites were separate but equal. After the Brown v. Board case of 1954, it was assumed that everyone was equal in the eyes of the law since segregation ended, however this made it harder for racial minorities to prove later on that they were discriminated against by other institutions due to their race based on the idea of colour-blindness (Collins 2009: 297, Williams 1991). The practices, activities, and characteristic of Black women's lives could often be explained by causal, racist explanations, usually due to racialization (Gans, 2017: 342). By analysing the implications of these policies, Black feminist thought exposes the way the state uses legislation to prevent Black women from building capital and receiving adequate health care. Black women, especially from poor backgrounds are disproportionately under surveillance by the

state. The racial bias in the U.S. child welfare and prison systems systematically works to regulate the lives of Black women in inner-city neighbourhoods (Roberts, 2014: 426). The hegemonic domain uses dominant ideologies about race, class, gender, and sexuality and reinforces them by using the mass media, eventually gaining support in the domination of Black women from the public (Collins, 2009: 303). These images and stereotypes are usually negative and centred around a heightened sexuality or abuse of the welfare system. Black women are often portrayed as mummies, matriarchs and welfare queens in the media, which helps to justify their oppression (Bailey, 2017: 177). In the interpersonal domain, Black women often fail to realize their part in perpetuating inequality and the need to be aware of their actions. A way Black women challenge this is by learning from their communities instead of acting as the lone knowledge expert, which can often occur from university faculty that are involved in activism for marginalized communities (Perez and Williams, 2014: 130). To combat the matrix of domination that plagues black women, Black feminist theory situates power in separate domains of power to understand and challenge the way power operates and reproduces inequality.

Black feminist theory employs various methods that are unique to African-American women. To fight against discrimination Black women were forced to rely on their own wisdom and experiences. Stories, narratives, poetry, and bible verses became symbolic representations of their experiences (Collins, 2009: 277). Black feminist theory is extremely critical of knowledge that is produced by the West. Elite White men control the knowledge validation process and Eurocentric epistemologies reflect their interests, which are required to satisfy the context that they live in (Collins, 2009: 271, Kuhn, 1963, Mulkay, 2014). Historically, Black women were forced into unpaid work and low paying domestic jobs. During slavery Black women worked on plantations for their slave masters and, eventually confined to domestic work, and prevented from working white-collar jobs until the 1960s (Wooten and Branch, 2012: 302). Due to the systematic injustices that prevented them from receiving an education that was mainly afforded to white elites, Black

women relied on their experiences to spread wisdom and combat discrimination. For example, many Black women in the U.S. believe that white women *think* they are free, and Black women *know* that they are not free (Gwaltney, 1980: 147). Speech is valued more to African-American women, and their personal experiences prove more than statistics in their world because their lived experiences have taught them how to survive. For example Black activist and poet Audre Lorde declared in a 1979 speech to a mostly white audience at a panel for The Second Sex Conference that people who are lesbian, poor, or black know that “survival is not an academic skill”, but a process on learning how to stand alone and come together to find a common cause with others to survive and define a world of their own outside of structures (Lorde, 1984: 112). In an attempt to unite White and Black feminists, Lorde highlighted the multiple oppressions she faced as a Black lesbian within the feminist movement and advocated for other minorities to challenge the structures perpetuated by the white elite and white feminist who benefited from white privilege. Civil Rights activist Sojourner Truth claimed, “Ain’t I a Woman?” during an 1851 speech that used biblical references to argue that slavery deprived Black women of motherhood, protection from exploitation, and feminine qualities (Taylor, 1998: 236). Unlike the scientific techniques of Western academia, Black feminist theory required the ability to vocalize one’s personal journey and connect with a wider audience to achieve social and economic equality in the U.S. Black feminist theory will allow me to highlight the experiences of GBM in Scotland through poetry and essays to voice the way the state and society has ignored their concerns and employed structural and symbolic techniques to reproduce social inequality.

Black feminist theory is essential to this research due to its ability to adequately address the way power can be used as a form of agency. Foucault’s theory of power addresses the complex nature of how power operates within the nation state. Foucault sought to understand the fluid nature of power and the different forms it took throughout history. After the medieval era, various strategies emerged to control the population and subjugate

the body through “bio power” or the power over life (Calhoun, et. al, 2012: 298). This new form of power was a product of disciplines such as universities, secondary schools, apprenticeships, and the military to combat issues of the birthrate, public health, migration, and the circulation of wealth (Calhoun, et. al, 2012: 298). Since the state used regimes of truth to police individual’s behavior and regulate society, Foucault claimed that ‘Power is everywhere’ and ‘comes from everywhere’ so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault 1998: 63). This left little room for agency since it appeared that power was impossible to locate. Black feminist theory is vital to my study because it locates highlights the importance of agency and how it can help raise awareness about the structural inequality that affects Black communities globally. Black feminist theory has been frequently applied as a tool for fostering activism that investigates certain inequalities that negatively impact marginalized communities of colour (Perez and Saavedra, 2012, Gentry, et al., 2005, Cannella and Perez, 2008). In 2007, the city council of New Orleans enacted legislation that favoured the white elite by voting to destroy salvageable public housing developments to build mixed income housing units (Arena, 2012). Mixed income housing units generally only offer a small amount of units to low income families, and to combat destitution for poor families, Black feminist activist organized with other grassroots activists to speak out at local government meetings to combat structural oppression (Lipman, 2008, Perez and Williams 2014:126-127). Black feminist thought inspires Black women grounded in the experiences of facing discrimination based on their race, sex, and class, to speak for other vulnerable communities. By identifying structural injustices imposed by the state, I can analyse policies and legislation that affect BGM in Scotland and raise awareness to challenge structural inequality in Scotland and possibly other parts of the U.K. Foucault mostly focused on the nation state, and Black feminist theory will allow me to draw intersections between African and Scotland to investigate how power might operate globally to discriminate against GBM.

To understand how discrimination affects GBM socially and economically, a theory that addresses the way the media fails to connect with marginalized groups is vital to understanding the conditions that make GBM vulnerable to substandard living environments. Black feminist theory is essential for identifying factors that influence high-risk behaviours for Black women (Jones, 2015; Boyd-Franklin, 2010; Green, 1999; Gentry et al., 2005; Vaz, 2005). To investigate the risks and coping strategies of African-American women living in poor environments that made them more susceptible to HIV, Gentry and team used Black feminist theory to gain the perspectives of poor Black women who lived in the street, an apartment, or were homeless (Gentry et al., 2005: 247). An examination of government policies revealed that traditional HIV prevention methods were ineffective for low-income African American women living in poor housing conditions. Poor and homeless Black women placed a greater emphasis on basic survival needs, such as repairing relationships with relatives, access to food, and safe affordable housing due to the dismantlement of welfare and public housing. The crack cocaine industry replaced low paying jobs, and safer sex and limited drug use were not viable first steps for Black women in the prevention of HIV (Gentry, et. al, 2005: 249). Since GBM are a marginalized group, Black feminist thought will help to expose why they are more vulnerable to different health risks. Uncovering the intersections of race, sex, and class exposes the way HIV prevention should tailor its messages to effectively engage with different groups that are at risk. Examining housing, healthcare, and employment statistics in Scotland will allow me to identify potential intersecting oppressions that prevent GBM in Scotland from gaining access to vital economic and social resources.

To better understand my role in the research as a gay postgraduate student of colour it is vital that I recognize my place within the material and GBM in Scotland to become part of a collective that is fighting for visibility and change. Scholars have used Black feminist theory to better understand themselves as educators and ethnic minorities to engage and empower young Black women of colour and revamp the U.S. education system (Gist,

2016; Beard, 2012; Few, 2007). Saavedra and Perez used Black feminist theory to give testimonials or testimoniales and voice the struggles of chicanas to identify struggles and empower future students of colour (Saavedra and Perez, 2012: 430). By writing, and having conversations, these educators were able to locate spaces where their identities shifted as Chicana women and professors (Saavedra and Perez, 2012: 433). This was a vital way to transfer their knowledge on to younger people of colour and prepare them for inequalities that they could potentially face. Gist used Whitehead's *Notes from a Colored Girl* to teach high school students about the lives of free Black women during the civil war. Gist used diary excerpts from a nine-tenth century free Black woman, Emilie Frances Davis, to teach students how to apply a Black feminist theoretical lens to interpret articles, essays, video clips, and music lyrics by synthesizing themes across texts and reflecting on Black feminism as a system of thought and a way of understanding the social world (Gist, 2016: 245, 255). By analysing the diary entries, students were able to learn how to use their own experiences as an investigative tool while simultaneously challenging inequality that is often reproduced in classrooms that contain marginalized students (Gist, 2016: 248). Brock analysed a game popular with the Black community called the dozens using Black feminist theory. The "yo momma is so stupid" jokes that were popular for Black students on college campuses had its roots in West Africa, the West Indies, and slave communities to devalue Black women (Brock, 2011: 381). Using Black feminist theory to unpack the patriarchy and sexism in the dozens game allowed Brock to analyse a game that was misunderstood by the younger Black female students from a Black feminist perspective (Brock, 2011: 380). With Black feminist theory I can unpack policies and discourses that discriminate and ignore the needs and standpoint of GBM in Scotland, and draw upon their writing, literature, and responses to injustice. This will give me a better understanding of the gay Black community in the U.K. and how they use their consciousness to speak and collectively assemble to fight oppression. To date there are only two reports that explores the lives of GBM in Scotland (Cowen, et al., 2009 and 2011). An analysis grounded in

their standpoint can inspire young GBM who are coming to terms with their sexuality in Scotland to learn from other GBM in the U.K. My research can help facilitate conversations and activism about ethnic minorities within the LGBT community in Scotland and hopefully lead to acceptance, and equality.

There are some limitations when it comes to applying Black feminist theory as a theoretical approach. Black feminist theory assumes that all Black women in the U.S. share the same standpoint and stream of consciousness. Since Black women's sense of self and their subjectivity is constructed through their relationship to "community", it is difficult to decipher the authenticity of a Black woman's experience and what counts as a Black feminist standpoint since differences between Black women are rarely addressed (Reynolds, 2002: 601-602). Differences in class are rarely discussed; the focus has mostly been on Black women in the U.S. and Black feminist theory uses the same masculinist traditions of the natural and social sciences (Reynolds, 2002: 599). This classical era of philosophy was used by Karl Marx to develop a standpoint of the proletariat to challenge the bourgeoisie and situate individual subjectivity to collective subjectivity (Hartstock, 1997). Discovering the standpoint of a marginalized group through collective activism can obscure the realities of minorities within minority groups. It may be difficult to gain the standpoint of a Black woman of African descent who also identified as a disabled immigrant. In Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, he rejects gender codification in the experience of ongoing rediscovery and fallibility in knowing (Changfoot, 2004: 447). This allows Black feminist theory to exist as a subjugated knowledge because it is not accepted as a valid form of knowledge by the White dominant society and allows it to exist outside of academia as a form of resistance (Reynolds, 2002: 602). Despite the fact that it claims to speak for Black women who are excluded due to their lack of access to important social and economic resources, it is important to be aware that some voices will be silenced within social theories and movements that claim to speak and validate the experiences of specific groups.

Employing Black feminist theory as a theoretical framework for understanding the experiences of GBM in Scotland can foster empowerment for this marginalized group and attempt to fill the gap in scholarly research on GBM living in the U.K. Although Collins asserts that Black feminist thought has been used in other social justice groups, it has not fully engaged with the lives of GBM in the U.K. (Collins, 2009: xi). It has been largely concerned with the ways in which Black and other women of colour in the U.S. have been oppressed in the social and economic sphere (Sterling, 2015: Collins, 91; Hooks, 2014; Bonaparte, 2015; Arya, 2012; Christian, 1994; Hong, 2008). Black feminist theory can unravel and account for the structural and symbolic ways that power has been used to discriminate and inspire agency for GBM living in Scotland. Most academic research in the U.K. that attempts to capture the complexities of British Black Gay Men (BBGM) relies heavily on data about GBM from the U.S. (Rivers and Ward, 2012: 44). These studies define GBM as MSM (men who have sex with men) that are on “down low”, which is used to explain their high rate of HIV infection and refusal to come out (Anderson, et al, 2009; Boykin, 2005; Collins, 2004; King, 2004; Denizet-Lewis, 2003; Mukherjea and Vidal-Ortiz, 2006; Rivers and Ward, 2012: 44). These studies fail to highlight the creative and discursive ways that power operates and fails to highlight the strategies of resistance that GBM in Scotland use to combat racism and homophobia. This study seeks to investigate the strategies that are employed by the state in Scotland and Africa to decrease the life chances of GBM. Black feminist theory acknowledges the historical struggles faced by Black women; how they negotiate the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation; eradicate malignant images of Black women-hood; and incorporate an activist perspective into their research by the cocreation of knowledge with informants, consciousness raising, and empowerment within the context of Black women’s lives (Few, 2007: 455). By investigating the historical narratives and struggles around Black bodies from the colonial era, exploring how matrixes of power intersect to disadvantage GBM, discovering their strategies of resistance, and using this study to advocate and empower

gay men from African and Caribbean communities in Scotland, Black feminist theory can contribute to the lack of research and attention given to GBM living in the U.K. Linking discriminatory stigmas that originated in the colonial era to today can allow sociology to acknowledge colonialism in their theoretical approaches. Settler colonialism and the European slave trade are absent in sociological methodologies and frameworks, which causes race and ethnicity to be viewed as symptoms of stratification (Bhabra, 2016: 961-962). However, Colonialism is actually embedded in our institutions and fields of knowledge, which sociology should take issue with to accurately address issues of race and sexual discrimination. This study can inspire GBM in Scotland to collectively organize, address the negative images around their identities, and understand how to use their agency to create and maintain positive discourses about Black men.

Research Questions

1. How does the LGBT Scottish media contribute to the reproduction of internalized homophobia for gay Black males?
2. What are the coping mechanisms that gay Black men employ to combat racism and homophobia in the U.K.?

III. METHODOLOGY

The following chapter explores the methodology and methods that were used in this study. I begin by discussing the epistemological and ontological considerations concerning my approach to the research. Next I move onto detailing why and how I applied my methodological frameworks to the study, which were discourse analysis and intersectionality. Discourse analysis is the most essential method for understanding the experiences of GBM in Scotland because it not only illustrates how certain depictions of minority groups reinforce certain stigmas and roles, but also why those beliefs are created and maintained. Intersectionality is also the best method for highlighting multiple forms of discrimination that impact GBM in Scotland. I will then justify the methods used, which were discourse analysis, intersectionality, document and content analysis, and how they relate to my research questions. Document analysis is the best way to understand and reveal evidence and statistics from the U.K. that will be used to support my arguments and a content analysis of websites and LGBT media in Scotland will reveal how GBM in Scotland are often represented and left out of certain discourses. I will also discuss how the data was interpreted, which will be through a Black Feminist approach. The next section will explain the sources I used and delve into how I analysed my data. The final section discusses the reflexive approach I took to when conducting the study.

Epistemological and Ontological Framework

In order to understand the experiences of GBM for this study I will be taking an interpretative epistemological approach, meaning that one cannot understand the social world without interpretation (Tuli, 2011: 100). As a GBM from the U.S., I am interested in understanding what life is like for GBM in Scotland due to the lack of literature about their experiences. To understand their point of view I will attempt to interpret their feelings through secondary data and work that they also produced themselves. My goal is to capture

the meanings and interpretations that they subjectively ascribe to phenomena in order to describe and explain their behavior (Leitch et al, 2010: 68). The epistemology of discourse analysis and its philosophical underpinnings follow an interpretivist framework that originated from the field of qualitative research. Inspired by the work of Kant and his work *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant (Kant, 1781) claimed that there are other ways of learning and knowing about the world around us besides direct observation (Ritchie, et. al, 2004: 11). Perceptions of reality do not just develop from our innate biological senses, but from our own interpretations of what our senses are telling us. Knowledge comes from understanding and reflecting upon what occurs in the world around us, not just from our “objective” empirical methods of scientific theories. Qualitative research values not only the social problem that is being studied, but also the interpretation of the investigator and the meanings that the subject under investigation makes (Ritchie, et. al, 2004: 11).

Discourse analysis operates differently from the more traditional qualitative methods. Qualitative research tends to assume the existence of a social world that should be investigated in order to discover the meanings for the subjects under study. Discourse analysis is more interested in the ways in which ideas and knowledge have been produced overtime, and how they are consistently maintained throughout history (Willig, 2001: 91). Since we interpret the world we do not have access to the world as it is. We use language and symbols to interpret it and make it meaningful in certain situations. In other words, discourse analysis is an interpretation of the interpretive work that people make in specific contexts (Gee, 2014: 141). People can only experience life from the version of reality that is created by the members of that particular social setting. Therefore, discourse is not an entirely neutral way of constructing meaning, because people are trying to achieve a certain outcome through speech and text (Bryman, 2016: 532). Society constructs its own version of reality, which only has significance if validated by the terms and ideologies enacted by those in power.

Methods

Discourse analysis can address my first research question, which is; How does the LGBT Scottish media contribute to the reproduction of internalized homophobia for gay Black males? The goal with discourse analysis is to answer questions such as: how are the situated meanings, social languages, and discourses used to build relevance and significance for certain people in context? How are conversations used to create, sustain, and depict practices, identities, and social relationships? How are discourses used to withhold and privilege certain forms of social languages, symbols, and ways of knowing? (Gee, 2014: 142-43). Discourse analysis can uncover how situated meanings and discourses are used to build certain significance around stigmas and GBM of African descent in Scotland (Gee, 2014: 142-43). It can also analyse how conversations are used in the media to reproduced stereotypical images of GBM and associate them with their identity. Discourse analysis can reveal how voices of GBM in the Scottish LGBT media may be silenced, which can keep the public from knowing how life really is for GBM in Scotland. Discourse analysis can reveal how these ideas are created, shaped, and maintained within society.

The sources that were analysed with discourse analysis were 143 issues of *Scots Gay* magazine and articles from Scottish newspapers *The Herald Scotland*, *The Scotsman*, and the Scottish edition of *The Guardian*. *Scots Gay* magazine was chosen because it is a bi-monthly LGBT magazine produced by and for the gay community in Scotland (Scotsgay.co.uk). Since this magazine was distinctly Scottish, I felt it would reflect the tastes and opinions of the LGBT community in Scotland and give insight into how they depicted or viewed GBM. The newspapers were chosen because they were newspapers produced for a Scottish audience. I wanted to analyse the thoughts and opinions of the general public in Scotland around GBM, and these newspapers were the most accessible since they were also available online. Intersectionality was also used to analyse and interpret the data. Intersectionality, a term that some consider coined by lawyer Kimberle

Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1991) is a theory that draws attention to the multiple interlocking forms of oppression that most minority groups face within society.

The sources that were analyzed using intersectionality were *Scots Gay* magazine, articles from *The Herald Scotland*, *The Scotsman*, and the Scottish edition of *The Guardian*, The 1951 UN Refugee policy, UK Home Office legislation and protocol on seeking asylum for LGBT applicants, a 2015 report from the European Region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), and poem called ‘Dear Father’ by poet Danse Maacabre. I chose these sources to highlight the way discourses and policies uniquely effect the life chances of GBM. The poem provided the standpoint of GBM and was used to support my theoretical framework, which was Black Feminist theory.

Content and document analysis were used to analyze the content on the websites of five HIV charities in Scotland, ten postcards produced in Scotland, reports, and statistics that focused on race and equality in Scotland from BEMIS (Black and Minority Ethnic Infrastructure in Scotland), Equality Network, Stonewall, EHRC (Equality and Human Rights Commission), CoDE (The Center for Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity). The Charities were Waverley Care, Terrence Higgins Trust, HIV Scotland, and Scotland National AIDS Trust. The reports were “Sanctuary, Safety and Solidarity Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Scotland”, “Working Towards Equality For Minority Ethnic Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in Scotland,” “HIV in the UK 2016 Report,” “Minorities within Minorities” and “Poverty and Ethnicity.” I chose these reports because they gave detailed statistics on the lives of BME LGBT in Scotland and detailed some of their experiences. These reports gave me insight into the socioeconomic status of BME LGBT in Scotland and were used to support my evidence for inequality that was unique to this marginalized group.

Data Analysis

Discourse analysis was used to analyse the discourse in newspapers and *Scots Gay* magazine. First I did a close reading and rereading of the data to become more familiar with the text. I identified who was speaking in the discourse, the positions they occupied, what they said, how they said it, looked for mediated meanings, and paid attention to how the rhetoric was used (Carbo, et al., 2016: 372). To analyse the quotes I adopted Fairclough's analytical framework for analysing text with discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003). After drawing relationships between discourses in text, I created a chart to analyse the discourse. The first column contained the original text; the second column was entitled "Discursive Practice", which provided the technique that was employed to hide what was really being said, and the third column was entitled "Social Practice", which provided the social and historical context of the quote (Fairclough, 2003).

There are some limits to discourse analysis that should be taken into consideration by social researchers. Discourse analysis tends to focus on the nation state as the major site of institutionalized power, without taking into account transnational processes that effect people's lives. Gay African men are also discriminated against in their home countries, which makes their challenges more complex. The discourse of sexualities in Africa also needs to be analysed to gain insight into the lives of African men. Since discourse analysis argues that reality is constructed through talk and text, it tends to ignore other material conditions and the non-semantic aspects of the political and economic reality that influence social action (Reed, 2000: 525). Parts of reality that are not socially constructed need to be taken into account.

To interpret the themes for quotes and images I used intersectionality and Black Feminist theory. For example for the magazines I created a table with four columns, which were the issue of the magazine, a description of the image, sample of the quote, and the theme/discourse. The description provided a descriptive detail of the image and after I was

able to understand what was going on I was able to get the implications of the images to understand how it pertained to GBM and what it was trying to say. After that I consider the ways in which the ads produced multiple stigmas around the bodies of GBM. Images that revolved around explicit sex acts and went under the theme “Black men as sexual objects” and the social and historical context was given for that image and theme. Tables were also created to analyse the postcards and the websites of HIV charities and the same process was repeated. Themes that did not fit the data or that were contradictory were noted and the data was merged with similar themes.

For content analysis I looked for any appearances of GBM in *Scots Gay*, recorded the details of the image and coded and looked for corresponding themes. This was also done for the HIV charity websites. For document analysis I did a close reading of the reports, examined what was being said, the context of the text, and explored who produced it.

Document analysis does pose some limitations. Documents are created with an agenda that is not research focused, which could lead to an oversimplification of the analysis. Concrete details of documents might be missing, many are not easily accessible, often incomplete, or aligned with a certain agenda by the producers of the documents (Bowen, 2009: 32). It is vital that the investigator does not bring their bias to the analysis of the document. There researchers personal beliefs should not influence their interpretations. Table 1 shows a few extracts from the discourse analysis of *Scots Gay* magazine.

Table 1. Discourse of Scots Gay Magazine

Issue	Description	Illustration Sample Quotations	Themes/Discourses
62, p.21	In the Arts section, a book entitled <i>Best Black Gay Erotica</i> is advertised. *	Politically correct or not, this book is full of nothing but the steamiest of hot black man on man sex.	Black men are sexual objects. They are fetishized and objectified as the exotic other.
63a, last pg.	An HIV prevention ad produced by NHS Scotland featuring a white man in the shower and a black man shaving	It's not surprising he doesn't have the balls. Discussing HIV is always going to be difficult-at least while there's a stigma around positive status.	Sexual activity with Black men poses a risk to your sexual health. Talking about safe sex and HIV prevention with your black partner will protect you and other black men from getting HIV.
64a	Escort ad. Black male with face hidden. Body shown, athletic build.	GLASGOW/EDINBURGH - BLACK ESCORT Professional full body massage £35 (in calls) £50 (outcalls) from a 30 year old black, gym toned, clean, VWE and athletic guy. Discretion assured. Escort services are extra.	Black men as masculine, athletic strong. Black men adopt hegemonic masculine personas. Described as savage and beastlike in colonial era.

Ethical Concerns

There are several ethical considerations that need to be taken into account with critical discourse analysis. Documents and text alone do not represent the opinions and views of the group that is being investigated. Terms such as some, many, or few will be used when addressing the experiences of gay black men living in Scotland (Park and Bhuyan, 2012: 20-21). Race is socially constructed and terms such as “black” have no ontological significance. In a biological sense, there are no genetic or phenotypic characteristics that are unique to anything approaching a racial group (Johnston, 2004: 4). However, for the purposes of this study I will refer to the gay men of Afro-Caribbean descent as black. Bio power aims to separate certain groups from the “norm” by defining them by certain characteristics that are associated with social stigmas. Words such as “immigrant” “alien” and “asylum seeker” are used in our culture to identify people that lay outside of a certain area. These terms will also be used since they are deeply embedded in our social practices and ways that we identify certain people (Agamben, 1998: 131). The word gay refers to men who are only sexually attracted to other men and engage in same sex sexual practices. The use of these labels may reinforce the stigmas that are already associated with certain identities, but it is important to be aware that these identities are socially constructed and that using them in this study is the only way to identify this group of individuals to my audience.

Reflexivity

As a researcher it is also vital to remain reflexive when conducting this study. Reflexivity involves engaging in an explicit self-awareness of the research process. It is important to recognize how I construct knowledge, my interpretations of my experiences, and to question how I made these interpretations (Finlay, 2011: 531-532). My bias should not influence the data and I need to be aware of where I am coming from. As a gay African American male my experiences may be different from gay Afro-Caribbean men living in Scotland. This was hard to come to terms with because a Black feminist epistemology aims to raise the political consciousness of people with an Afrocentric worldview, placing them at the center of their own reality (Brock, 2011: 380). As a gay African American male I wanted to rely on my own experiences facing discrimination due to my race and sexuality. However, the contexts would be different since I am American. There are cultural differences between Africans and Americans, and terms such as Black do not adequately identify males who were born and raised in Africa. I wanted to work within an epistemology that was grounded in my own history as an African American male and challenge ontological questions such as: How do I understand my realities as an objectified other? Where do I fight the battle for my selfhood? Where is my fight/struggle as a graduate student and GBM? (Brock, 2011: 380). There are also differences among African men, depending on the region they are from. I cannot generalize and speak for the experiences of African males who identify as gay. I am not familiar with the cultural practices and ideologies of African communities and I am approaching this study as a liberal outsider from America. The university I attend is also an elite institution that teaches research methods from a Eurocentric and predominately western point of view. This study involves little interaction or expertise from gay African men. Through critical discourse and document analysis my aim is to explore the meanings associated with African male bodies to understand the experiences of gay men living in Scotland.

IV. Findings and Discussion

The following chapter explores the themes that emerged from the data analysis of the study, which were the Black body and disease, Black men as sexual objects, the ideal Scottish man, complicit oppression and Resistance. The themes are outlined in accordance with the research questions: How does the LGBT Scottish media contribute to the reproduction of internalized homophobia for gay Black males? What are the coping mechanisms that gay Black men employ to combat racism and homophobia in the U.K.? The first three themes are linked to question one, and the last theme explores question two. The themes are organized in correspondence with the appropriate power domain that exists within the matrix of domination. The discourse and content analysis of the data suggest that GBM are a threat to the sexual health and wellbeing of gay White Scottish men living in Scotland. It was also found that Black men were more associated with promiscuity and frequently presented as sexual objects for the pleasure of other white men. The data further revealed that ideal Scottish gay male was masculine and White. It was also found that GBM were often complicit in certain stereotypes but found positive ways to challenge the rhetoric perpetuated by the media and the state.

Hegemonic Domain

Question 1: The Black Body and Disease

An in-depth examination of the discourse and content in the Scottish LGBT lifestyle magazine *Scots Gay* revealed that GBM of African and Caribbean descent were a significant threat to the sexual health of GWM of Scottish heritage (scotsgay.co.uk). The magazine adopted and reinforced the dominant Eurocentric ideology of the state, which portrayed Africa as the Dark Continent where most of its inhabitants were plagued by disease (Miller, et al., 2003: 318). Depictions of GBM were severely limited to HIV prevention and escort ads (scotsgay.co.uk). The HIV prevention ads alluded heavily to the fact that gay White men (GWM) were at a severe risk of being infected with HIV by

having any type of sexual contact with GBM, see for example figure 1. Sexual activity with GWM did not appear to be as dangerous as having sexual relations with GBM. The discourse played on the fear of disease and the need to take precautions when interacting with GBM on the gay scene. HIV and AIDS became synonymous with gay men from Africa, which led to many stereotypical representations of them in the magazine (scotsgay.co.uk).

Fig.1 It's Not Surprising. Scots Gay Issue 63a p.20



Many HIV prevention ads such as the one in Figure 1 not only encouraged white gay Scottish men to protect themselves from HIV, but also hinted at the fact that black gay men specifically could not be trusted. The ad is addressing Scottish men and encouraging them to inform their sexual partner or significant other about the dangers of catching HIV. It explains that although there is a stigma around HIV, being honest about your status and protection can improve your relationship and sex life. The ad features two gay men and

one of them is a black. This suggests that white Scottish men need to protect themselves and their “black” partner from the spread of HIV. The discursive strategy that is employed here is that keeping a sense of caution, fear, and distance with black men can keep one safe and lead to a long and fulfilling life. The phrase in the ad “It’s not surprising he doesn’t have the balls” hints to the stigma that Black men from the African community are rarely honest about their HIV status and do not like to take proper precautions when it comes to their sexual health. It is the white man’s responsibility to keep him informed to stay safe and prevent him from recklessly spreading HIV. Black men will hide their HIV status from sexual partners and their communities so one should be careful.

Here race and sexuality intersect for GBM in Scotland, since the content of the HIV awareness campaign suggests that HIV is not only a threat to the entire gay community, but the African race in particular, is a bigger threat because they are the ones that are usually infected. The ad makes a distinction between the gay community and GBM by creating a division between “us” and “them”, which is also known as othering (Chanda, et al., 2006: 191). This is part of what Crenshaw deemed representational intersectionality, where the cultural construction of women of colour ignored issues that affected them and strengthened an unequal power dynamic (Crenshaw, 1991: 1282). For example, the images of Black women as welfare mothers justified the intersecting oppressions of race, gender, and class, reproducing and maintaining the stereotype that Black mothers were lazy and deserted by Black men to raise children alone (Collins, 2009: 87). This ad supports an aversion to GBM in the gay community while also reproducing the stigma that HIV is an African disease. An unequal power dynamic is maintained, where GBM are the carriers of a disease that can harm a healthy White body. This suggests that *Scots Gay* magazine, which is produced by WGM in Scotland (scotsgay.co.uk), reproduces the hegemonic domain of power by adopting stigmatizing ads that were produced by the state and reinforcing this message within the gay community in Scotland.

The state was complicit with this message since NHS Greater Glasgow, NHS Lanarkshire and NHS Ayrshire & Arran produced the ad. This can be attributed to racialization, a process, which generally begins with the arrival of new immigrants, voluntary or involuntary, that are perceived as different and undeserving (Gans, 2017: 342). It is possible that The NHS division of Scotland deliberately chose GBM as the face of HIV to distinguish the difference between White Scottish men and Black men of African and Caribbean descent living in Scotland. Elite members of the state are usually the initiators, since they define race, rule which phenotypical and other characteristics determine it, and enforce it in the event of the perception of threat, imagined or real by the racially dominant population (Gans, 2017: 345). Race and sexuality intersect because in this case the threat to Scotland is not only HIV itself, but also GBM with ties to Africa. Scientific knowledge functions as a major social power, through the state, family, and hospitals by creating and controlling the objects they claim to know (Seidman, 2013: 178; Foucault, 1973). The state legitimizes the HIV discourse by using the NHS to disseminate knowledge that was created by experts in the medical field. This suggest that if members of the gay community in Scotland believe these messages then they will possibly think twice about engaging in sexual relations with GBM. Although Black and Caribbean Africans only make up three percent of the Scottish population, BGM are primarily associated with being infected with HIV and the spread of the disease in Scotland within the context of the magazine (Simpson, 2014: 4). There is a sense of risk and fear that is associated with the interaction of black men in this magazine.

When people do not feel at risk for HIV or any other virus, the responsibility and blame is directed at the people who are already infected, which further perpetuates the AIDS stigma and racism against black people (Nduna and Mendes, 2010: 25). Since there are high rates of HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa, the blame is shifted towards them. This allows the state to create a false sense of security by denying their own race's expose and vulnerability to HIV (Petros, et al., 2006: 71). Gay Black men become the face of HIV due to ignorance

and fear of the state. These representations link the structural, disciplinary, and interpersonal domains of power by adopting and manipulating racist ideologies about disease and Africa to justify discourses and harmful policies (Collins: 2009, 302).

The stigma that is attached to GBM living with HIV and AIDS has had a devastating effect on their self-esteem. Many feel self-blame and engage in self-destructive behaviours (Boone 2016: 764, Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Klitzman, 1997). Being Black and gay intensifies the stigma that they experience since racism and homophobia intersect. Prejudice against GBM has been fuelled by the stigma that HIV and AIDS only affects gay men who have sex with other men, and since Black men are disproportionately effected by HIV and AIDS, it has been associated with the behaviours of young gay GBM (McKirnan, Houston, & Tolou-Shams, 2007). Media images that sensationalize Black men as the main carriers of HIV frame the HIV and AIDS epidemic as an African problem, further stigmatizing GBM of African or Caribbean descent who may or may not be HIV positive (Boone, 2016: 764). Many African gay men living in the U.K. with HIV felt isolated from care or support groups. Seeking help and treatment could disclose their HIV status to their African communities and they would be perceived as promiscuous or a threat since they can infect others (Doyal, 2009: 183, Flowers, et al., 2006: 114). Many HIV positive GBM that disclosed their status were seen as dirty and were avoided by friends, family, and romantic partners (Siyam'kela, 2003: 14). This fear further alienates GBM from their family and friends, adding stress and little access to HIV medication. Staying silent can delay medical attention. In a survey of 1,614 LGB young people, one in three gay and bisexual BME men (36%) were not out to their GP or other healthcare professionals, which was a higher proportion than the general sample (33%) (Varney, 2013; 3). Many GBM do not feel comfortable being out due to the stigmas of their race and sexuality, which makes it harder to access medical care. Since the majority of my evidence relied on ads from *Scots Gay*, the conclusions regarding the LGBT media in Scotland are only speculative,

which was a big limitation of the study. *Scots Gay* magazine is not representative of the entire LGBT media in Scotland.

Stigma devalues relationships by reproducing unequal power relations between minority groups and the rest of society (Parker, Aggleton, 2003: 16). Historically, Western science and biology, particularly from the U.S., focused on demonizing a certain part of the population when it came to fighting HIV and AIDS. During the first phase of the late 1970's and early 80's, it was marked as a gay disease that affect industrialized countries such as the U.S., Canada, and Western Europe. In phase two, which occurred around 1983, the spread of HIV was linked to heterosexuals and people from Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America (Treichler, 2004: 111). Homosexuals and Black Africans were accused of being responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS to the public, which eventually led to stereotypical images of gay men living with HIV in the West and people who suffered from HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa. The ads in LGBT Scottish Media are socially constructed because the meanings from advertisements draw on the cultural environment that they are framed in. Since the content is a reflection of daily exchanges that occur in our social world, the discourse reveals that there is little interaction between gay Scottish men and gay Black men (Loncar, et al., 2015: 122). BGM in Scotland internalize these messages because the discourse is constantly reproduced, which makes them feel unwanted and more likely to remain closer to their African communities.

Without images that link being Black and African with positive associations of everyday life, they remain invisible and largely ignored.

Racism and HIV are stigmas that intersect, which suggests that GBM in Scotland are discriminated against due to their race and sexual orientation. Being Black and gay presents a set of challenges that are unique to the coming out process. BME (Black Minority Ethnic Men) LGB people were more likely to experience abuse and harassment from strangers than white LGB, and 76% of gay and bisexual BME boys have thought about taking their own life compared to 65% of white gay and bisexual boys (Varney,

2012: 1). This is due to the significant amount of homophobia and racism that plagues the U.K. and Africa. Being HIV positive makes life even more strenuous and isolating due to the fear and stigma of the disease. 69% of gay men living with HIV admitted to being sexually rejected due to their positive status (Haggas, 2015: 1). When it comes to dating preferences of gay men many ethnic minority men are at a disadvantage. Gay Black and Asian men are more likely to face romantic rejection compared to whites, which are in a privileged position because they are desired by minorities and other whites (Lundquist and Lin, 2015: 1426). GBM are less desirable within the gay community, especially if they are HIV positive. The HIV prevention ads in Scottish LGBT media and AIDS charities perpetuate this fear. This suggest that navigating the dating scene with the goal of securing a romantic relationship as a BGM in Scotland can lead to constant disappointment and frustration due to stereotypical imagery that is constantly negative and fear inducing. This possibly prevents GBM from having the confidence they need when it comes to dating in Scotland and provides little incentive for them to pursue romantic relationships with white gay Scottish men. However, the reliance on ads from *Scots Gay* magazine limits the ability to arrive at this conclusion.

A discourse analysis of 48 newspaper articles from 2001 to 2011 of the online edition of newspaper *The Scotsman* and 60 articles from the online edition of the *Scottish Sunday Herald*, (n=108) revealed that 30% of the articles blamed the spread of HIV in Scotland on Africans (scotsman.com, heraldscotland.com). From 2001 to 2011 the African population in Scotland skyrocketed from 5,000 to 30,000 due to immigration (Simpson, 2014: 1). African immigration seemed to coincide with the rise of HIV infections in Scotland, with many headlines showing signs of fear, confusion, and moral panic. In the 2004 *Scotsman* article *African infections take Scots HIV to record levels*, the headline reads “**HIV CASES** have rocketed to an all-time high in Glasgow because of the number of people recently arriving in the city from Africa either as asylum seekers or immigrants” (scotsman.com, 25/1/2004). Highlighted in bold, the headline demands the reader’s attention, and is

attempting to warn the public about a dangerous virus that has reappeared because of the presence of outsiders.

“No one therefore knows what the scale of the ‘immigrant HIV’ problem is, or how many Scots are being infected on holiday or business trips.” –The Scotsman (Scotsman.com, 25/1/2004).

HIV is now an “immigrant HIV problem”, which absolves White Scottish residents of any responsibility for the rise in HIV. HIV is something that is obtained “abroad” while on holiday or a business trip. The real threat does not exist within Scotland, but lies outside of it. The paper presents HIV as a mysterious disease that only resurfaced with the influx of African immigrants. However, it was reluctant to mention the cases of HIV that originated in Scotland. The estimated figures about African immigrants could not be proven, but were used to scare the public and distance Scotland from the other. Again, racialization has occurred, where the racially dominant group blames the other for a perceived threat as an attempt to socially exclude them (Gans, 2017: 346). To come to terms with the spike in HIV, African asylum seekers became the perfect scapegoat. In an attempt to scare the public about the impact of migration and the threat it poses to the interests of the white majority, the state uses ethnic minority coverage to legitimate and reproduce prevailing ethnic ideologies. These ideologies reinforce unequal power relations between whites and minorities (Semotam, 2010: 4). The hegemonic domain of power continues to reproduce social inequality for GBM because the Scottish media has once again relied on stereotypical ideologies about HIV and AIDS.

This rhetoric was also prevalent in the headlines about HIV in Scotland in 15% of the issues of the Herald Scotland, with most of them blaming the rise of HIV infections on immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa (heraldscotland.com). Headlines such as “Shocking

HIV Figures Prompt Urgent Plea,”¹ “Call to HIV Screenings for All Scots²,” and “Glasgow HIV capital after cases double Influx of asylum seekers plays part as 82 victims infected”³ illustrated the hysteria that was emerging. There was an immense sense of fear and panic around sexual health during this period. However, the reports paid little attention the fact that there was an increase in HIV testing in Scotland, which caused rates to rise. Gay and straight Scottish males neglected to use safe sex practices, since they felt HIV was not really a threat to them (CDC, 2003: 1). The way the statistics were reported put the oneness of HIV occurrences on African immigrants. Whenever there appeared to be a spike in HIV the African population was to blame, but when the amount of cases dropped it was attributed to Scottish people taking safer precautions. Health Protection Scotland, Public Health England, and the National Aids Map UK still report decreases in the cases of HIV for Whites, that two in five people born abroad in Sub-Saharan Africa are the primary carriers of HIV, and that BGM are at a higher risk of developing HIV (Health Protection Scotland, 2011; Public Health England, 2016: 6; Pebody, 2017, 1). This suggests that the media neglects to paint an accurate picture of the situation in order to retain the fear and further stigmatize African immigrants. Since many Africans cannot control the narrative of fear that surrounds HIV, they are possibly left feeling stigmatized and unwanted. Life for HIV positive Africans living in Scotland can be an extremely challenging ordeal due to racism and homophobia. Black Africans who are seeking asylum are dispersed in different locations that are far from family members and other support groups. Dispersal has had negative effects on their overall health and wellbeing because they are separated

¹ Sunday Herald, 2007. Shocking HIV figures prompt urgent plea. *The Sunday Herald Scotland*, 15 June 2007.

² Sunday Herald, 2008. Call to introduce HIV screening for all Scots. *The Sunday Herald Scotland*, 28 November 2008.

³ Sunday Herald, 2003. Glasgow HIV capital after cases double Influx of asylum seekers plays part as 82 victims infected. *The Sunday Herald Scotland*, 21 January 2003.

from their communities and families (Sinyemu and Baillie, 2005: 17; McCann and Mackie, 2016: 5; UK Immigration & Lesbian Group, 2010). Since they already feel trepidation about living in a new country and also having HIV, it is imperative that they are able to form connections with local Scottish people and other Africans from their community. However many experience discrimination from health services based on their HIV status. Black men reported being treated rudely by dentists, GPs, NHS, and Emergency departments in Glasgow. Many health care facilities showed fear and racial prejudice toward gay black men with HIV, and were told that were only visiting the doctor for fear of being deported (Palattiyil and Sidhva, 2011: 22, 72). This makes disclosing their HIV status to health officials extremely difficult. Access to medication is important when living with HIV, and without support and empathy for the virus, GBM will be more reluctant to seek medical attention in the future to avoid further stigmatization. Institutions often ignore the health care needs of gay black men due to the stigma of race, poverty, and sexual orientation. Black bodies are devalued, which leads to them receiving subpar medical care. Black gay men feel threatened by state mandated institutions that are supposed to care for the public (Padilla and Parker, 2011: 433). This increases stress and uncertainty about the future because they lack vital resources that are designed to help keep them alive. These challenges make it extremely hard to have a positive outlook, attend social events, and seek romantic relationships. The association of Africa with AIDS in the Scottish press also heightens the fear around their bodies, creating more distance between Black Africans and Scottish people.

Living in fear also prevents HIV positive GBM from telling family members back home about their illness due to the stigma of AIDS in the African community. GBM not only face rejection in Scotland but also from their relatives back home in Africa. For instance, legislation in the South African constitution that prohibits discrimination against sexual orientation, homophobic violence and ridicule plagues many who identify gay and lesbian (Phillips, 2009: 347). Unlike many Western cultures, in Africa there is a larger focus on the

family instead of the individual (Madhavan and Crowell, 2013: 720). What one does is a reflection of the ethnic group and there is pressure to succeed socially and economically for the benefit of the family. Many cannot afford to let their families down by putting off heterosexual marriage. Cultural and religious expectations prevent gay Black men from seeking relationships and living openly (Msibi, 2013: 112). Homosexuality is illegal in 38 African countries, such as Nigeria, Uganda, Gambia, and Zimbabwe, with many in Uganda facing the death penalty for same sex relations (Smith, et al., 2009). Isolation from their family and society can lead to feelings of loneliness and depression. Many GBM turn to unprotected sex as a way of dealing with homophobia and racism, which puts them at a greater risk of catching HIV and other STIs (Arnold et al., 2014: 716). Disclosing their sexual orientation puts them at a greater risk of physical and mental anguish. Many Africans that immigrate to the U.K. and are living with HIV are heavily concerned with their immigration status. They have greater access to HIV treatment in Scotland, but their incomes are very low, especially those who are only on benefits. Asylum seekers are not allowed to work and many are expected to send a portion of their income back home to Africa because they came from extended families. If their migrant status is not stable, they could lose access to treatment and be sent back home with little opportunities for adequate HIV care (Doyal, 2009: 180). This can be a very frightening process to go through.

“Everything depends on immigration—health and happiness, no medication, no employment—everything depends on it. Because the law is changing every minute, you never know where you stand” (African Male) – (Cherfas , 2006:4)

These pressures and uncertainties make it difficult for GBM to be open about their sexualities and pursue sexual relationships publicly. Unlike GWM in Scotland, they lack the autonomy and flexibility to feel pride about their sexual orientation and are less likely to feel part of a gay community. Many continue to experience homophobia in the U.K.,

and having HIV increases the stigma, since HIV is also seen as a contagion (Cherfas , 2006:4). Since HIV is associated with deviant behaviors such as drug use and promiscuity, people living with HIV are more likely to experience symptoms of depression and stigma than other groups that suffer from chronic illnesses like cancer (Fife and Wright, 2000). Expectations from a heteronormative society in Britain and Africa make them vulnerable to multiple stigmas that are rooted in religion, race, culture, and masculinity. Locating an environment full of support and guidance for GBM is an intersectional issue, where power intersects and permeates every aspect of their lives.

According to a 2015 report by the European Region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA-Europe), Scotland was the most gay friendly country in Europe (ILGA, Annual Review 2016). Scotland met 92 percent of IGLA's 48-point criteria, which was based on equality and non-discriminatory practices in legislation, employment, health care services, marriage, asylum, family, civil society space, hate crime, and gender recognition (rainbow-europe.org, 05/2015). However, the report lacks vital information pertaining to the demographics of the LGBT population in Scotland and how each category affects them. The categories of the point-based system are very broad, and categories such as "family" and "employment" frame equality around legislation such as equal marriage and anti-discrimination employment legislation (rainbow-europe.org, 05/2015). What we do not know is how successful this legislation has been at protecting the rights of Black Minority Ethnic (BME) LGBT in Scotland. The report does not address the structural issues that GBM face when trying to survive in Scotland. The hegemonic domain influences the structural domain of power, which prevents GBM from gaining asylum, obtaining sufficient employment. GBM have to prove they are homosexual to gain asylum in Scotland, and many do not have the time or resources to prove that they face persecution in Africa for being gay (UKLGIG, 2010: 4). If they do get asylum, they are detained and treated like prisoners until their case is accepted (Bachmann, 2016:15). There is a significant gap between welfare benefits

obtained by U.K. citizens and the support asylum seekers receive from the state. Asylum seekers only receive 65% of the income of people under 25 and 51% of the income of adults and single parents. That is 61% less of what they would need to earn to live above the poverty line in Scotland (Scottish Refugee Council, 2013: 8). The qualifications that they earned back home are not recognized in the U.K., which makes it harder to obtain jobs that relate to their skills. Some asylum seekers use the Azure card to buy certain products, but it does pay for bus fares or phone calls (SRC, 2013: 8-9). Since it is a cashless system, many GBM can experience stigma from using the card, such as negative attitudes from staff and customers and feelings of humiliation (Palattiyil and Dina Sidhva, 2011: 33). This discrimination is similar to what Black women in the U.S. experience when they have to use welfare cards to pay for food, earning the label of the welfare queen (Collins, 2009: 76). The complex intersections of race, class, and sexuality were not captured in the UKILG report, since it would most likely negate the evidence that they presented. Intersectionality can highlight multiple forms of discrimination that can lead to stress and internalized homophobia for GBM in Scotland, and it appears that this was not the aim of the UKILG report.

The fear and racialization in the discourse of Africans and HIV in Scotland can also be found in the 18th and 19th century colonial rhetoric surrounding the sudden outbreak of infectious diseases. Small pox and the Spanish Influenza were heavily associated with the African continent (Ross, 1977: 18, Okigbo and Ezumah, 2017: 206). In Britain 44% of tabloids on Ebola referenced that it came from monkey meat that was a staple food in Africa (Joffe and Haarhoff, 2002: 957). In 2003 HIV in Scotland was an “immigrant HIV” problem that was also heavily associated with Black immigrants. The medical knowledge produced by “experts” is a product of the culture that is often used to induce fear and blame of the disease on specific groups (Foucault, 1973). The body is an economic and political problem that must be regulated by the Scottish government through the media (Foucault, 1978: 24). The state is able to use the press and manipulate stories centered on

disease to stigmatize African bodies. This tradition began during the colonial era and still the dominant discourse around HIV today. Black men have been marked with disease for centuries and being constantly bombarded with this type of imagery forces them to view their bodies as something threatening and negative.

Question 1: Black men as Sex Objects

Scottish LGBT media had a tendency to rarely feature gay BME men. However, when GBM were featured in *Scots Gay* magazine they were predominately engaged in sexually explicit acts or nude. Black male bodies were fetishized and largely confined to escort ads. Their ethnic and cultural heritage was marketed as something exotic and available to white gay men for the purposes of leisure and sexual objectification. Opinion pieces, reviews, interviews, and news about LGBT events in Scotland were all written from the perspectives of White gay Scottish men (scotsgay.co.uk). For example writers were tasked with explaining what was happening on the gay scene monthly throughout Scotland, and all the writers for “The Edinburgh Scene”, “The Dundee Scene” and “The Glasgow Scene” were White (scotsgay.co.uk). Black gay men had little opportunity, space, or flexibility to be anything other than sexual. There was an extreme lack of movies, books, or entertainment that featured gay Black in the magazine. However when they were they were often fetishized and reduced to stereotypes. In the book review section the magazine only featured two books about gay Black men, and they were both gay Black erotica. In the arts section the book *Best Black Gay Erotica* appears to only be featured as a small attempt at showing some type of diversity within the magazine.

“Politically correct or not, this book is full of nothing but the steamiest of hot black man on man sex. It’s got it all, from the slowly building heat of Reginald Harris’ love story “The Dream” to the raw lust of Jay Russell’s “Rude Boys” in which two tops at a sex club negotiate which of them will give it up. It’s a book that will encourage any hot blooded male to read it one handed...” – Scots Gay, issue 62, p.21

The magazine appears to be debating the fact that the mere existence of the book may just be an attempt at political correctness in the LGBT community, which is to the detriment of white audiences. They feel that they really did not have to review the book at all. However when they do they become excited with the fact that two “rude boys” who only act as a “top” or the penetrator during sexual intercourse are negotiating which position the other will play. The story plays into the myth that gay Black men are dominant tops with big gene Talia that are adamant about their partners being in a submissive role. *Scots Gay* is not only promoting the book in the magazine but also reaffirming and supporting the stereotypical hyper masculine ideology that is so pervasive in African communities. Due to the marginalization of Black men in the employment and education sector, many rely on a Black masculinity that is filled with aggression, with the goal of being tough and street smart, eventually competing for money and sex to earn respect within the Black urban community (Collins, 2004: 151). This hyper-masculine image of a Black man that is a dominant top is maintained within the hegemonic domain of power. *Scots Gay* adopted this stereotypical image and turned it into a fetish. BGM are confined to the realm of the erotic other and remain as just a sexual fantasy for gay men in Scotland. This is also evident in the other book entitled *Black vol.6*, an art book featuring nude African men (scotsgay.co.uk, Issue 80, p.11) Black men are viewed under a white male gaze that only presents them as sexual conquests (scotsgay.co.uk). Tourist destination images are the

products of place scripting that results from engagement with stimuli that is based on personal experiences, popular culture, travel guides, and friends (Hammett, 2014: 222). LGBT Scottish media reproduces inequality by promoting sexualized representations of GBM from Africa and the Caribbean that reaffirm racist ideologies. These practices contribute to reimaginings of place that are focused around social constructions imagined by the white male gaze (Jenkins, 2003: Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). This type of imagery limits African bodies to mere sex objects.

Black gay men were portrayed as sexually promiscuous and hyper masculine (scotsgay.co.uk). They were usually being sexually objectified in HIV prevention and leisure ads, often times with multiple white sexual partners as see in figure 2 (scotsgay.co.uk). GBM have frequently reported being sexually objectified in online sex advertisements and that many gay men looking for partners online were primarily interested in GBM for sex and not dating (Calabrese, et al., 2014, Paul, et al., 2010: 532; Ro et al., 2013). Young gay males in Scotland that are in the process of discovering their sexuality or coming out may view these images as a true reflection of reality. They may fantasize or want a specific type man that they see in the media. Sexual experience is a social process, which means that an individual's understanding of his or her private fantasies and desires is shaped by social meaning (Simon and Gangon, 2003: 492). Stereotypes and ideologies shape our perceptions of others. Stereotypes, or associations and beliefs about characteristics and attributes of a group and its members shape how people think about and respond to that group (Dovidio, 2010: 3). The hegemonic domain of power relies on these stereotypes to rationalize discriminatory practices that occur in the structural, disciplinary, and interpersonal domains. It shapes the consciousness by relying on certain images symbols and ideologies (Collins: 2009, 304). Young black men who are beginning to identify as gay may internalize these images and think that they have to project themselves as hypersexual masculine men that want to sleep with multiple partners to prove that they are a man. Due to a lack of positive images of black men in Scottish

media, GBM in Scotland may often feel that if they do not fulfil stereotypical roles, they will be rejected. GBM complained that they were either a sex object or invisible to the LGBT community (Dean, 2013; Malebranche, 2008; GALOP, 2001: 17). This has led to frustration and stress from GBM who are constantly rejected online for not fitting into stereotypical roles, with many questioning the value they hold as Black men (Paul, et al., 2010). Race, sexuality, and gender intersect, where being Black marks GBM as the other, their sexuality is considered to be promiscuous and available for sexual pleasure, and they are expected to be aggressive and dominant. A content analysis of 217 porn advertisements revealed that 45 percent of ads that featured GBM had a thug theme and 44 percent of ads that featured GBM exclusively depicted them engaging in condomless sex (White, et al, 2015:1026). This suggests that being viewed as a sex object makes it difficult to GBM to be proud of being black and gay. The depictions of black men as thugs, criminals, gangsters, and violent offenders force young black men to grow up adopting the hegemonic masculinity that often plagues the white community (Han et al., 2014; Balswick & Peek, 1971; Denizet-Lewis, 2003).

The stereotypical discourse of Black men as hypersexual people that secretly desire white Europeans has been around since the sixteenth century. When European settlers first made contact with African people, reports of what they encountered grossly exaggerated their appearance and sexuality. The lack of clothing that Africans wore was seen as lasciviousness or that they lacked modesty (Battle and Barnes, 2010: 104). In 1526 diplomat Leo Africanus described the Negro as lacking reason and wit while leading a beastly kind of life with a great swarm of Harlots among them (Jordan, 1974: 19). They were seen as beastly, savage, unintelligible apes that were inferior to the white race. Since many European travelers considered them to be “large propagators” that lacked the chastity of whites, this further solidified the ideology that they were “the other”, further allowing colonists to be in a position of dominance when it came to producing the image and history of Africans. (Jordan, 1974: 19). In *Scots Gay* Black men are limited to being sexual objects

that are surrounded by many white male partners (scotsgay.co.uk). As seen in Figure 2, the Scottish version of an escort website entitled *Squirt.org* in *Scots Gay* magazine reaffirms the lasciviousness that Africans were associated with in the sixteenth century.

Fig. 2 Squirt.org ad. Scots Gay issue 114 p.14



One gay African man is feeding his beastly sexual appetite by engaging in anonymous group sex with white men in the woods (scotsgay.co.uk, Issue 114, p.14). Power is a creative force that has reproduced the image of GBM as animalistic, rough, sexual objects for the “Mandingo fantasy” (Calabrese, 2002: 2014; Wilson et al., 2009; Paul et al., 2010; Ro et al., 2013). These images are heavily prominent in gay men’s magazines today, which expose the unequal power relations between GWM and GBM (Teunis, 2007). GWM continue to reproduce the racist narratives of the past because they still see Black men as inferior sexual objects. The magazine uses the bio power techniques of the state to subjugate black bodies as mere sexual fetishes for their sexual fantasies (Kopecký, 2011: 252). This suggests that Gay men in Scotland are less likely to envision a long-term relationship with African men since it is not presented as a favorable option in the eyes of the gay community. Advertisements that feature Black men for products other than hair care are also usually limited to HIV/AIDS drugs (Dudley, 2013: 193). When young GBM

in Scotland look for positive images of themselves in gay magazines, they may not find much. These negative associations can discourage them from having a positive body image. Black youth consume more media than White Youth and accept character portrayals, and media images of Black people as valid representations (Adams-Bass, 2014: 384) Young Black males are also found to endorse negative stereotypes about Black men (Pompper, 2010; Watkins, 2005). These images seem to relay the message that GBM are only sexual fetishizes, which can possibly influence the minds of GBM.

Question 1: Real Scottish Men are White

A close analysis of LGBT magazines and dating websites produced in Scotland revealed that for sexual and romantic relationships the ideal partner for gay men was a Scottish man that was a “fit lad.” In other words white, masculine, sporty, and traditional with an athletic build. Hegemonic masculinity, which is understood as both "hegemony over women" and "hegemony over subordinate masculinities" was significantly present throughout the data (Demetriou, 341: 2001; Connell, 1995, 2005). GBM were largely absent in gay advertisements and there was an extreme lack of racial diversity (scotsgay.co.uk). The image of a true fit lad was also significantly present in the souvenirs sold at Scottish tourism shops. Seven out of ten Scottish postcards contained sexualized, hyper masculine images of white Scottish men promoting different aspects of Scottish culture (Flower of Scotland Marketing Ltd.) This suggests that gay men in Scotland prefer White Scottish men, which reproduces the racial hierarchy that exists within Scotland today. White Scottish men made up the majority of *Scots Gay* magazine's content, leaving other types of gay men in the community largely invisible (scotsgay.co.uk) Although GWM were also engaged in sexual situations, they were directly involved in other important aspects of the gay scene. GWM men reported on events that occurred in different venues all over Scotland, reviewed festivals, gave opinion pieces on the political aspects of LGBT equality, provided pictures of their involvement in community outreach, and reported on

gay pride events in Scotland. GWM made up the majority of the magazines content, leaving other voices silenced in the process.

To promote and advertise for sex services, *Scots Gay* magazine relied heavily on sexualized images of white Scottish men to entice readers (scotsgay.co.uk). These subliminal messages promoted a narrow view of male Scottish masculinity and sexuality. Most of the men appeared to be rugged, young, white, masculine and sporty (scotsgay.co.uk). Sexually explicit images of BME men went against the status quo, which is possibly why they were not featured. GWM often showed off their chest and wore a kilt to represent Scottish culture. This type of invisibility justifies the marginalization of GBM and the regulation of their bodies, which is a form of bio-politics within the matrix of domination (Collins, 2009: 76, Foucault, 1977). Like much of the tourism industry, sex and nationalism are used to sell products and an idealized version of the locals to get travellers to visit and bring commerce to a specific country. As you can see in figure 3, *Scots Gay* uses sex and Scottish culture to promote companies that specialize in sexual services for gay men in Scotland. The kilt is worn by a muscular White Scottish male with an athletic build, which becomes the object of gay men's fantasies in Scotland.

Fig. 3 Gay Scottish Connect. *Scots Gay* Issue 68.



Ads frequently incorporated things that were unique to Scottish culture to promote the ideal type of Scottish man. The ad for *Scottish Gay Connect* tells the audience that they can

“create their own highland games” and they call in to hear “hot highland games, stories that will life your kilt!” Highland games, a unique sports competition only found in Scotland, represent the strongest athletic men across Scotland. Here, it is used as a metaphor for sex, in which gay men can participate in stimulating and fun games of their own that are purely sexual. Regional hegemonic masculinity and local hegemonic masculinity work together in because in Scotland, practice at the local level, such as engaging in professional sporting events, constructs hegemonic masculine models (e.g., "star athletes") at the regional level; which in turn affect other local settings (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 850). Hegemonic masculinity is not confined to the highland games, but also exists in other areas of Scotland, such as high schools and in this case, *Scots Gay* magazine (Burgess, et al., 2003). The connection with highland games only serves to promote the ideology of a hyper masculine white man that is muscular, good at sports, and the desirable sexual partner. Masculinity, race, and nationalism intersect to create the ideal gay Scottish man that represents strength, Whiteness, and Scotland. Without any depictions of ethnically diverse gay men in Scotland, GBM of African and Caribbean descent have little opportunity to display the pride they feel from their culture and sexuality. This suggests that readers of *Scots Gay* magazine are under the assumption that a real Scottish man is White.

Heteronormative gender stereotypes of the man as the dominant and masculine partner are also present in the Scottish gay community. Fitlads.net, an advertisement for “chav boys” to meet “real lads” in *Scots Gay* openly denounces forming any sexual or romantic encounters with effeminate men in the U.K. The website claims that there are “no queens, mincers, or hairdressers. Real lads who are into real lads” (*Scots Gay*, No. 65, 08/05). Apparently a real Scottish lad is white and muscular, masculine, and chav. These images were also present in the postcards from Scottish stores Hector Russell, James Pringle Weavers, and the Tartan House of Scotland. As you can gather from figure 4, one of the postcard features a shirtless muscular man wearing a kilt and the other image displays a

man provocatively displaying the lion rampant symbol that is frequently used in the Scottish army. The postcards also featured Scottish men participating in activities that reflected a sense of hegemonic masculinity. The white Scottish men were muscular and participated in highland events such as caber tossing, a piper's race, football, and motorcycle riding. They appeared to be thrill seekers that participated in activities that displayed their physical strength and manhood. Sports is an important indicator of masculinity in Scotland, and like much of the West, prestige is conferred to men that eat meat, take risks on the road, and approach sex as a conquest to establish a masculine reputation within their peer group (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 851). These images have historical references that are combined with sexual imagery to make it feel modern and appeal to audiences today. The consumption process of tourism contributes to the continual re-shaping of destination image and tourist behavior and the ceaseless negotiation of place and identity (Hammett, 2014: 222; Su, 2010). Place identity is shaped by local conditions, and locals' reimagining of place through socially constructed images, and by attempts to mold this identity to international tourist desires (Preston-Whyte, 2002). The Scottish symbolism that is attached to the athletically toned white men suggest that this is a reflection of Scotland's tastes and ideas about Scottish men, which is then transferred to the desires of the consumer. The historical imagery and knowledge production of Scottish tourism reflects the dominant group's interests, which are White people of Scottish descent. Here Knowledge and power work to reproduce and maintain the ideology of the hyper masculine traditional White Scottish male (Collins, 2009: 271). The lack of ethnic diversity that is shown in these products gives the impression that a real Scottish man is white, in great physical shape, and wears a kilt to display pride in being Scottish.

Fig. 4 Red Kilt and Highland Tattoo Postcards



The data suggests that Scotland's interests do not lie in promoting the idea of living in a multi-ethnic region of the U.K. These images construct a reality that is devoid of different ethnic groups. Although 4% of the population identify as mixed race and about 61,000 people of Polish, Irish, Pakistani, Chinese, and African descent currently reside in Scotland, they are not adequately reflected in Scottish media and culture (Smith, 2014: 1). To be Scottish means to be White, and immigrating or seeking asylum in Scotland, as a man of African or Caribbean descent does not guarantee that one will be accepted as Scottish. GBM are not reflected or represented in Scottish culture, which can lead to more isolation and internalized homophobia. The data confirms the findings in research and literature on the whiteness of the LGBT community. When we see whiteness it occurs to us as something that simply doesn't exist or is simply natural. To the general public gay men are portrayed as "white and well-to do" (Bérubé, 53: 2001). Media portrayals from shows like *Will and Grace*, *Queer As Folk*, and *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* promote a monolithic image of the gay community as upper-middle-class to rich white people (Han, 2007: 53). This is not the case for images of BGM. When they are featured in LGBT

media, they are rarely shown with a Black romantic partner or having the same economic success (Dudley, 2013: 193; Collins, 2004: 249). These images influence what gay men desire and aspire to become. If Black men look at Scottish culture, they may see men who are desired for possessing certain characteristics. Since they do not possess the appearance of the white majority they may have to look for other ways of gaining the attention of Scottish men. Discrimination pertaining to their race and sexuality intersect, making GBM a more vulnerable group within Scottish culture. GBM often encounter mental stress because they feel their racial identity does not fit with their sexual identity and many feel rejection from the White LGBT community (Choi, Han, Paul, & Ayala, 2011; Glick & Golden, 2010; Harper & Schneider, 2003; Herek & Capitanio, 1995, 2010; Meyer & Ouellette, 2009; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004, Boone, 2016: 764). They can be proud of their ethnic heritage, but often times they are forced to conform to Eurocentric beauty standards and hegemonic masculine behaviour. As soon as Black men enter the white gaze they are fixed. Black men must view themselves in relation to whites since their customs were abolished for being in contradiction with Western civilization (Fanon, 1952: 90, 95). They can play the part of the exotic black foreigner or the sex object that is there to please white men during their leisure time. In many gay publications it appears that gay men of colour only exist in fantasies where rich white men can take exotic vacations to purchase black bodies as consumable products (Han, 2007: 53). These roles can be damaging to GBM safety and self-esteem. Advertisements construct body ideals, are increasingly influential in causing body dissatisfaction, and reflect culturally learned fantasies and aspirations (Loncar, et al., 2015: 123; Frederick, Fessler, Haselton, 2005; Wykes, Gunter, 2005; Hackley, 2005: 5) The voyeuristic gaze allows men to experience narcissistic identification with the images of male bodies being depicted in lifestyle magazines and other media (Patterson and Elliott, 2002: 237). Sexually explicit media has been shown to contribute to the reinforcement of racial, gender and sexual role norms, as well as the uptake of risky sexual behaviours in diverse populations (Parsons et al. 2007;

Hald, Malamuth, and Yuen 2010; Weinberg et al. 2010; Morgan 2011). GBM are more likely to engage in these behaviors due to their search for acceptance from their own communities and Whites in the gay community (Lemelle and Battle, 48: 2004, Arnold, et al., 716: 2014; Amola and Grimmett, 2014: 236) Due to their absence in the mainstream media, LGBT discourse, and relegation to purely sexual roles, many GBM view their own appearance as unworthy of love and choose to favour the appearance of white men.

“Those carefully torn out adverts with aquiline –nosed men from *GQ*, *Arena*, and *The Face* may have become, in my particular circumstances, a belated Lacanian “Mirror Stage”. In consuming those images I became physically fixed on the white male as a physical ideal and in doing so, constructed an image of my self in which my own physical and intellectual worth is negated” –Danse Macabre (Gordon et al, 2014: 92).

From an intersectional lens it becomes clear that ideas about race and sexuality converge to enhance the invisibility that GBM feel. The Poet that goes by the name Danse Macabre describes the inner turmoil he faces a GBM who is ignored for his race and sexuality in the U.K. Macabre explains that due to the absence of images of people like himself, he begins to internalize images of White men and construct an image of himself that mirrors what he sees. During the process his African identity is discarded and forgotten. Here race and sexuality intersect to doubly stigmatize GBM. Danse’s double-consciousness, or sense of always looking at the self through the eyes of others tells him to reject who is he and measure his soul by what he views in magazines (Du Bois, 1994: 2). This suggests that GBM in Scotland must reconcile with two ideologies that tell them what a desirable man is. Their two-ness contains two souls that are constantly at war (Du Bois, 1994: 2). Without the flexibility to be seen as a truly Scottish and the lack of Eurocentric features in their physical appearance, GBM will continue to be viewed as outsiders or foreigners.

Interpersonal Domain

Question 2: Complicit Oppression

As a coping strategy for their invisibility with Scottish LGBT media, the escort ads in *Scots Gay* magazine suggested that GBM were often complicit in their sexual objectification. Black male escort ads frequently referred to themselves as Black or Afro-Caribbean men who were in great shape, masculine, discreet, and able to please sexually (scotsgay.co.uk). Many played on the stereotypes about Black men to entice potential clients. One masseur described himself as a Muscular, Black, discreet, and “very well endowed” man that provided tantric nude oil massages and sex (Scotsgay, issue 94, p.11). Being muscular and “straight looking” was frequently mentioned, which reproduced heteronormative, patriarchal gender norms and Black hyper masculine roles. Many Black escorts advertised themselves as foreign men that could offer Scottish white men a uniquely African or Caribbean sexual experience. A Black escort from Edinburgh who goes by Tony plans to give potential clients an “Island Boy Massage” in his ad. “Kick back, relax and let Tony bring some Caribbean harmony to you for only £40. Enjoy a relaxing hot oil therapeutic full body massage from a well trained masseur from the Caribbean offering home visit for the same price.” (Scotsgay, issue 94, p.11). Like many of the escorts, Tony plays on the idea of the Caribbean as an exotic place that gay men, specifically gay white Scottish men, can enjoy. The escort acts as a tourist destination that can bring the experience of being with an “Island boy” to life in Scotland. The fact that gay Black escorts relied on their race to present a certain image is also evident in their contact information with email account names such as blackafricanman@hotmail.com. Here the other is often eroticized to appeal non-threatening and accessible to White gay men. Black men present themselves as exotic and masculine to appeal to Scottish men, while simultaneously reproducing unequal power relations based on racism. Some GBM will

brag about their sexual prowess (i.e., their number of male partners), sexual positioning (i.e., top as active and bottom as passive), and penis size. These stereotypes can sometimes cause men in the gay community to exclusively seek out Black men that have larger penises than others (Groves, et al., 2015: 225; Bussell 2006; Fields et al. 2012; HelloBeautifulStaff 2011; Wilson et al. 2009). The Black gay escorts perpetuate the stereotypes of the virile, strong black man who is not effeminate and weak. They highlight their "otherness" to appeal to racialized notions of the ideal black man in the minds of white Scottish and African men. According to Black feminist theory, the interpersonal domain claims that victims of oppression often fail to see how their thoughts and actions uphold the subordination of others (Collins, 2009: 306). Power is productive, and it is often a mistake to view it as merely a repressive force (Foucault, 1977: 115). For example, Black people may view poor Whites as symbols of White power and the radical left claim that class solidarity could end racism and sexism (Collins, 2009: 306). GBM in Scotland that fit these narratives may view these stereotypes as positive to earn money as escorts, but they may also hurt GBM who do not fit these stereotypes and are looking for a long-term relationship.

“Every other comment towards me is a variation of ‘I wanna see if it’s true what they say about black dick’ or dark chocolate or black meat. The black dick comment is offensive no matter how lighthearted or funny you think it is. It’s setting an expectation upfront which is demeaning.” - Michael, 20 from Hertfordshire (Haggas, 4: 2017)

These stereotypes are clearly hurtful to GBM, which could make it harder for them to reconcile the oppression they face when it comes to their race and sexuality. GBM that

have a positive Black identity are more likely to have better mental health than those that identify with the dominant white culture and can avoid feelings of resentment, rage, anger, frustration, bitterness, grief, and despair (Mahalik, et al., 2006: 1; White and Cones, 1999; Helms, 1990). If GBM are looking for inclusivity within the LGBT community in Scotland, they run the risk of rejection if they are only desired for certain aspects of their bodies. There are inclusive masculinities that have been more tolerant toward others. According to Anderson, fraternities have been more inclusive of gay men and racial minorities, more respectful to women, and have bonded with other fraternity men over emotional intimacy (Anderson, 2008: 604). Damaging masculinities for minority groups such as GBM do not negate the entire inclusive masculinity theory (Anderson and McCormack, 2016: 8; Magrath 2015). However, the question of how inclusive and hegemonic masculinity can co-exist at the same time has yet to be adequately addressed (Anderson and McCormack, 2016: 8). The data I gathered suggests that WGM have the flexibility to embody both in Scottish LGBT media. The absence of GBM in the majority of *Scots Gay* issues and postcards makes it difficult to draw any significant conclusions. Especially since I relied on a limited amount of data consisting on ads. Within the matrix of domination, there is an absence of pure victims and oppressors, since each individual carries certain degrees of penalty and privilege in the intersections of various unequal power domains (Collins, 2009: 306). Conforming to the hegemonic masculinity that is displayed in Scottish LGBT media and tourist products can have grave implications for the mental health of GBM in Scotland.

Disciplinary Domain

Question 2: Resistance

A content analysis of four LGBT websites that were devoted to GBM in the U.K. revealed that GBM have utilized their agency within the matrix of domination to combat racism and homophobia within the U.K. 95 percent of the four websites content were related to

activism and raising awareness about issues that pertained to GBM (blkoutoutuk.com, rukus.org.uk, manon.org.uk, and ukblackpride.org.uk). For example, *BlackOut UK* is an organization dedicated to encouraging debate and discussion online, in face to face interviews, producing writing workshops, networking events, and support interventions that address the needs of GBM (blkoutuk.com). These methods of advocacy mirror the dialectic relationship that Black women have utilized as a collective by linking their oppression and activism within Black feminist theory (Collins: 2009: 25). Within the disciplinary domain, scholars such as Aaron Rogers have used their privileged position within academia to join a volunteer collective of GBM in the U.K. to create a space for GBM to think, shout, show off, curse, celebrate, laugh, reflect and share in order to be heard (blkoutuk.com). The activism in this website allows GBM to fight against the invisibility and marginalization they experience simultaneously within academia, LGBT spaces and African communities. This type of forum or dialogue allows GBM to voice their oppression from their standpoint. A standpoint grounded in the experiences and knowledge of GBM stimulates resistance (Collins: 2009: 33). The data confirmed that a relationship between power and empowerment could generate the possibility for collective activism and agency (Perez and Williams, 2014: 126; Collins, 2000, Sawicki, 1991).

GBM employed various methods of resistance within non-profit organizations and online spaces. *BlackOut UK* held a screening of the film *Moonlight* on February 12th 2017, which was followed by a Q&A session that consisted on opinions on the film and reflections about how GBM looked, felt, viewed each other, and they survived in the world (blkoutuk.com).

BlackOut is all about conversation(S) and a soul that drives Black gay men to create virtual and physical spaces: for us and by us. Content to celebrate our journey and our survival; and content to ultimately save ourselves. On Sunday that

soul expressed itself through a host of brilliant, articulate and reflective brothers; men who poured out their hearts in words and songs with truth and vulnerability.

- (blkoutuk.com).

The event highlighted the importance of inclusion and the way GBM are often left out of film and mainstream media. By screening a film about a young Black man coming to terms with his sexuality, this allowed GBM to have a safe and creative discussion about their identity. GBM were able to their double self into a better and truer self (Dubois, 1994: 2). This activism mirrored the gay Black conscious raising that occurred previous decades before in the U.K. Gay Black men have been apart the Black lesbian and gay centre of 1971, The International Lesbian Gay People of Colour Conference of 1991, and The Black Gay Men's Conference of 1987 and 2007 (Healey and Mason, 126: 94; Ward and Rivers 2012: 43). There are very few spaces where this exists, since the GBM are discriminated against due to their race and sexuality in LGBT community, their families, and communities. Race and homosexuality were able to co-exist in this space and foster creativity in the process. By embracing different aspects of themselves, they were able to create a Black consciousness that celebrated who they truly were, not who they should be. Other organizations, such as *UK Black Pride*, have inspired GBM to employ agency by protesting racism that is often found in other LGBT pride celebrations (<http://ukblackpride.org.uk/>). *UK Black Pride* drafted a petition for a campaign to stop racism in the LGBT community entitled *#StopRainbowRacism*, which was aimed at eradicating "Black Face" performances at Pride celebrations (<http://ukblackpride.org.uk/>). The disciplinary domain manages power relations through the way organizations are run, and although minorities in the LGBT community may be stigmatized by the very organizations that are meant to celebrate difference, they can utilize their own form of surveillance by resisting bureaucracy from the outside (Collins, 2009: 300-301, Foucault, 1979, Lorde, 1984). Creating a Black Pride and collectively challenging the racism in

LGBT organizations and events while being inclusive of marginalized members of the LGBT community is a form of resistance that calls attention to intersecting oppressions that GBM face. *MANON*, a lifestyle magazine that represents LGBT BME people, also organized a Pride event on July 1st that was less “cooperate, assimilationist, white, expensive, policed and triggering” (<http://www.manon.org.uk/>). GBM have also preserved the history of their lives online to educate and empower their communities. The *Rukus! Federation* is a London based organization that specializes in providing testimonies from GBM about their experiences and houses an online archive that collects historical newspapers, magazines, books, posters, and other memorabilia that features GBM (<http://rukus.org.uk/>). The goal of the archive was to establish a Black LGBT history, produce exhibitions, publications, talks and workshops, educational to increase awareness of their lives and create oral histories to preserve their testimonies (<http://rukus.org.uk/>). By creating a space for themselves, GBM have resisted the racism and homophobia that they constantly encounter while navigating their way towards acceptance and understanding.

The data also suggested that there was some activism against racism and homophobia in Scotland. A *Free Pride* event was held last August in protest to fact that the Gay Pride Parade in Glasgow charged an entrance fee (Rodger, 2016: 1). Members of *Free Pride* advocated for a Pride celebration that was less commercial, and more inclusive of transgender, intersex, and asexual, and other marginalized groups in Scotland (freeprideglasgow.wordpress.com). This suggests that GBM have a space to voice their oppression and advocate for a more inclusive LGBT community and society in Scotland. For GBM seeking asylum in Scotland the UNITY Center is a non-profit organization that assists LGBT refugees with info about ways to fight destitution, deportation, and being held in detention to fight racism, homophobia, ageism, and trans-phobia (<http://unitycentreglasgow.org/>). GBM who are seeking advice on how to be granted asylum have some resources that can support and help advocate against racism and

homophobia on their behalf. The data was limited to Glasgow Free Pride and The Unity Center for advocacy in Scotland, and may not reflect the depth of resources available to GBM.

V. Conclusion

The study also examined how GBM coped with stigmas related to racism and homophobia within the U.K. The data was approached and interpreted using Black Feminist theory and the experiences of GBM were analysed using intersectionality, discourse and content analysis. By using Black Feminist theory I was able to highlight the experiences of GBM in Scotland through their standpoint by using other interviews, poetry, essays, statistics and secondary documents in an attempt to contribute to the scant literature about their lives.

Five crucial findings emerged from the study of GBM in Scotland. The first was that the state and LGBT Scottish media identified GBM in Scotland as vectors of disease that posed a threat to GWM in Scotland, which had the potential to lead to internalized homophobia. In order to combat these negative stereotypes it is essential to understand where they originate from and discuss ways to speak out against these negative images in an effort to prevent them from being reproduced by the state. This dissertation links reactions to HIV in Scotland with the colonial era discourse and knowledge that associated African bodies with disease. By exposing the origins of this stigma, scholars can adopt new approaches to educating the LGBT community about HIV and AIDS. Black feminist theory and intersectionality have not addressed the HIV stigma in relation to GBM globally, and this dissertation contributes to literature that could explore the discursive strategies employed by the state to address the health implications of HIV in Scotland (Flowers and Davis 2013; Boydell, et al. 2017; Cowen, et al., 2009 and 2011) For example, White people of Scottish descent may think HIV does not pose as much of a risk to them as it does for GBM, leaving them more vulnerable to HIV and other STIs. Research from a Black feminist approach can inspire activism from the standpoint of the people being

oppressed. Young GBM growing up in Scotland should have a positive body image and not associate their identity to HIV.

The second essential finding was that the producers of LGBT Scottish media endorsed representations of GBM as exotic sexual objects, which made GBM feel confined to those roles. I recommend that people in the LGBT Scottish community that produce LGBT media create more inclusive images and roles for GBM within their work. Since younger Black youth consume more media than White youth, they are susceptible to internalizing these images, which may cause them adopt these behaviours and engage in unsafe sexual practices (Bass, 2014: 384; Berry, 1998; Watkins, 2005). Realistic images and hiring BME staff to produce Scottish LGBT media may lead to more accurate and positive representations. Allowing GBM to include experiences from their standpoint in LGBT media will allow them to feel that they are apart of a wider LGBT community in Scotland, thus eliminating the potential for internalized homophobia.

The third critical finding was that being Scottish was synonymous with a White racial identity, which led to GBM in Scotland feeling like outsiders that were not desired. I recommend that the state and LGBT media in Scotland be more inclusive to diverse populations and marginalized groups to foster a sense of community and belonging.

The fourth key finding was that GBM were often complicit in the racialization and fetishizing of their bodies. Many played on the idea of the hyper masculine GBM to earn money from clients as escorts. I recommend that there be a more inclusive masculinity that gives GBM the flexibility to be masculine, feminine, or anything in-between in Scotland (Anderson, 2008: 604). The fifth key finding was that GBM utilized their agency to combat racism and homophobia by organizing and using their voices in essays, poetry, and songs in the U.K. GBM were not mere victims of power, but were agents of change and empowerment. By highlighting their agency in this study I hope I can contribute to literature that can give insight into the way GBM organize and fight for change. This will hopefully give GBM in Scotland some ideas for advocacy.

There were some limitations I encountered when conducting this study. Black feminist theory allowed me to view issues that pertained to GBM in Scotland from their standpoint but there were some limits to the theory. It did not lend itself well when framing my research findings. Originally I wanted to split the findings up by different domains of power, but this became difficult because some of them intersected. I was unable to put a section of the findings into a structural domain because I had to highlight how the hegemonic domain influenced the structural domain. Since separating them was difficult I could not address each power domain adequately. I also think that since power is everywhere, it is difficult to make it irreducible to power domains and view it only in terms of domination. Most of my data relied on ads from one LGBT magazine, and *Scots Gay* is not representative of the entire LGBT Scottish media. Some of the opinions of BGM came from those that lived in other areas of the U.K. There were few LGBT entertainment publications that were distinctly Scottish. It is difficult to say if these representations alone are responsible for internalized homophobia in GBM in Scotland. Many of the newspapers were from 2003, 2004. These do not necessarily represent the opinions of the state or Scottish people today. The research mostly covered GBM seeking asylum and could not account for the experiences of GBM born and raised in Scotland. The term Black does not adequately reflect the diversity of the African diaspora, but was used for the purpose of this study. I also relied on secondary data, with some of the data coming from the U.S. Using Black Feminist theory and intersectionality, I wanted draw connections between the historical representations of black men's bodies during the colonial era to the discourse that exists around them today in contemporary Scottish culture. However Discourse Analysis is a descriptive form of analysis and content analysis cannot account for why a discourse exists within certain historical periods. I recommend that we combine Postcolonial theory, Black Feminist theory, and intersectionality to account for why stigmatizing discourses around African bodies emerged. Postcolonial Theory challenges

Western and European notions of modernity and the historical narratives that emerged to silence the voices of the colonized (Bhabra, 2014: 115).

I recommend that policies in Scotland that aim to protect the rights of LGBT in Scotland adopt an intersectional approach to better service the needs of BME LGBT. LGBT Youth Scotland should look at ways to reach the needs of gay BME youth and consider the particular issues they face with homelessness, homophobia, and racism. Asylum legislation should provide HIV care to GBM who are still waiting for their case to be processed. I recommend that they not be detained and housed in adequate housing that is safe and clean. GBM should not be concentrated in poor urban areas and be given the chance to work and have their credentials recognized in Scotland. Charities and LGBT clubs in Scotland should be more inclusive and find ways to reach GBM and the African community. By recognizing intersecting forms of oppression such as racism and homophobia, Scotland can begin to address the socioeconomic challenges that constitute GBM as a more vulnerable group.

Tables

Table 2., Postcards

Post Card	Description	Theme/Discourse
THREE KILTS	Three Scottish men in Kilts peeing in a urinal with their shirts off.	Nationalism and Hegemonic Masculinity. Being a Scottish man is about wearing a kilt, being masculine, in shape, and white, while doing everything with your mates as a form of comradery. From going to the bathroom together, to playing sports. The picture also has sexual overtones. The men are showing off their bodies while holding their dicks and going to the rest room. Having a penis reinforces masculinity, their sexual prowess in bed, manhood, and superiority. It reinforces patriarchal power structures.
HIGHLAND TATTOO	Man revealing his legs provocatively under his kilt to reveal a highland tattoo on his upper thigh. The symbol is the Lion Rampant. It's the secondary symbol of Scotland. It's used in the army a lot.	Scottish nationalism with sexuality and hypermasculinity. The tattoo is close to his butt cheeks and he is revealing the tattoo provocatively by not showing too much skin, but just enough to get you to imagine what else is underneath the kilt. Scotland is sexy and also has a rich traditional history. There is plenty to discover here.
RED KILT	Male model showing off his abs and leaning on a wall while he shows off his red kilt	Being a Scottish man is about wearing a kilt, being masculine, in shape, and white. He is showing off his abs and is a tall, dark, and handsome man that is modelling a kilt. This markets Scotland as a country that is also attractive and traditional at the same time. Wearing a kilt symbolizes Scottish pride, masculinity, and manhood. Come to Scotland and you can find one of these men there. This is what a true male Scott looks like. This is the ideal that they are selling to customers and people who are considering coming to Scotland.
PIPERS RACE	Three athletically built Scottish pipers running in a relay race	Being a Scottish man is about wearing a kilt, being masculine, in shape, and white, while doing everything with your mates as a form of comradery Playing Sports and being competitive is typical of a male Scott.
CABER TOSSING	Muscular Scottish man tossing a caber. The caber toss is a traditional Scottish athletic event in which competitors toss a large tapered pole called a "caber". It is normally practised at the Scottish Highland Games. The person tossing the caber is called a "tossler" or a "thrower".	Scottish men are strong, athletic, and white.
KILT AND GRAFFITI	Toned white male model showing off his chest and checker kilt and leaning on a graffiti wall	Scottish men are strong, attractive, athletic, white, and proud to be Scottish.
PIPER ON A BIKE	Big Scottish man playing the bag pipes while sitting on a motorcycle	Scottish men can be brave, thrill seekers and cool, while also staying true to their traditional roots.
SIX PACK	Male model showing off his abs and chest while wearing a kilt and looking seductive in the photo	Wearing a kilt represents strength, masculinity, sex appeal, being white and Scotland.
SKULL KILTBELT	Male model showing off his chest, looking off into the distance and wearing a kilt with a skull on it	Wearing a kilt represents strength, masculinity, sex appeal, being white and Scotland. The Skull and crossbones represent death and being dangerous. Scottish men are tough and are not to be crossed. Also represents being a pirate in the 18th century In Latin "momento mori" which means "remember that you have to die" (Wikipedia).

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